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East Africans Call for Self-Government

EAST AFRICAN nationalists met in September at Moshi, on the slopes of Mt. Kilimanjaro in Tanganyika, to press forward their drive for self-rule. Delegates from Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, Zanzibar and the Belgian Congo, convening for the second conference of the Pan-African Freedom Movement of East and Central Africa (PAFMECA), approved unanimously a demand that "Africans should be given the right to govern themselves now," and issued sharp attacks on repressive measures against Africans throughout the "multi-racial" areas of the continent.

Tanganyika leader Julius Nyerere, chairman of the conference, told delegates that the demand for "self-government now" was "not extremism but moderation" and was "the most moderate demand for us to make." Even so, Africans were asking now only "for a certain measure of responsibility in 1960," he said.

All Africans should be given a change to show the doubting Thomases that their desire to govern themselves had nothing to do with driving Europeans or Asians from Africa, Nyerere added. "We want to be able to prove this while the Union Jack is still flying over these territories and while the safeguards of the Colonial Office and the Governors are still there."

Mr. Nyerere made it clear there was no question in his mind of establishing rights for racial communities, only rights of citizens and of foreigners.

Unity Stressed

Opposing both "white racialism and black chauvinism," PAFMECA has pledged itself from the beginning to "uncompromising adherence to the rule of law" and protection of individual civil rights for all who accept African citizenship, rather than special prerogatives for racial groups.

PAFMECA was founded at Mwanza, Tanganyika, in 1958. A major objective is to promote the organization of "militant mass movements

under dynamic leadership," in order to press for the establishment of government "of Africans, by Africans and for Africans, on Pan-African lines." Throughout the past year, East African leaders have made efforts under PAFMECA auspices to unite rival nationalist movements within the various territories. In the long run, PAFMECA is also seen by some as a possible forerunner of a federation of the East African states once they achieve self-rule.

Armitage Recall Asked

Nyasaland was high on the agenda at the September conference. Delegates demanded that Dr. Hastings Banda and other Nyasaland African Congress leaders be released from detention and that the ban placed on Congress since the March emergency be lifted. The Nyasaland resolution asked that the Nyasaland Governor, Sir Robert Armitage, be relieved of his duties so that the necessary atmosphere could be created for the "restoration of peace, harmony and development."

Resolutions on Kenya included a call for an immediate end to the seven-year-old state of emergency which has had a restrictive effect on African political activities, and a demand for the immediate release of nationalist Jomo Kenyatta, now held under a form of house arrest in a remote area of the colony.

The PAFMECA Secretariat was instructed to send a letter to the Kenya Governor demanding an end to the emergency regulations and moves were initiated to "take up the matter with the Colonial Office and British Members of Parliament."

A question arose over the seating of a representative of the newly-formed Kenya Nationalist Party, whose membership includes some Europeans and Asians, and it was ultimately decided that the delegate could attend as a fraternal observer. Later the conference called on Kenya African leaders in both the Nationalist Party and the new Independence Party to abandon their separate organizations and form a united African group.

Urge Congo Speedup

Turning to the Belgium Congo, which was represented at the conference for the first time, PAFMECA urged Congolese voters to return candidates in forthcoming elections who would "pledge themselves to secure full responsible Government for the Congo by 1960." The conference urged the Belgian Government to implement speedily its promise of independence for the Congo, and called on the Congolese people to "beware of any attempts, however subtle, by Belgian officials to divide the people

in order to rule." The conference "is disturbed by the apparent existence of tribal feelings or attempts by the Belgian officials to fan or exploit tribal differences in order to prolong imperial rule in the Congo," the resolution said.

Delegates urged an "immediate impartial inquiry" into recent political disturbances in Uganda. A resolution called on the British administration in Uganda to release all African political detainees and "take steps to ensure the complete observance of human rights and liberties and the rule of law."

The conference adopted strong resolutions in support of economic sanctions against South Africa. Delegates resolved to address letters to heads of states throughout the world drawing their attention to the "gross abuse of human rights" in South Africa and calling for support of a world-wide boycott against South African goods. It was also agreed to issue an appeal through the United Nations. At the same time, transport unions in East and Central Africa were asked to outline detailed plans for refusing to handle goods going to and coming from the Union. Kenya's Tom Mboya told the conference an approach also was to be made to American film producers to send their films into East Africa through channels other than the existing South African distributing organizations.

Appeal to Asians

The conference was attended by several Asian observers from Tanganyika and Uganda, who reportedly went along with a resolution condemning the "wait-and-see" attitude of some Asian settlers in Kenya and Nyasaland. The resolution appealed to these Asians to realize that "nothing can prevent Kenya or Nyasaland from achieving independence," and that if they keep aloof from nationalist movements or play into the hands of colonialism at this critical stage, "they would be doing great disservice to themselves and to their children."

In another resolution the conference condemned France's plans to detonate an atomic bomb in the Sahara Desert.

Summing up immediately after the meeting, Mr. Nyerere, who stands to be the first of the PAFMECA leaders to bring his country over the threshold of independence, told a large crowd at Moshi that Africans wanted independence to rid the country of the "disgrace" brought about by colonial rule. He compared independence with lighting the country by a torch at the top of Mt. Kilimanjaro. Alluding to the pressing need for development, he added, however, that "We do not want to light that torch in order to expose our ignorance, poverty, disease and our thatched huts."

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Belgium Tightens Policy on Congo

By HELEN KITCHEN

THE coalition government of Belgian Premier Gaston Eyskens, fearful that prolonged public airing of its deeply-divided mind on Congo democratization was contributing to mounting African confusion, emerged from a crisis session in early September with a "more resolute" policy calculated to demonstrate that Belgium firmly intends to guide, not follow, the Congolese march to independence. These were the major developments:

- King Baudouin accepted on September 3 the resignation of Maurice Van Hemelrijck, the controversial Minister for the Belgian Congo and Ruanda-Urundi, who has enjoyed wide popularity among Africans but has drawn increasingly heavy fire from conservative politicians of both the Liberal Party and his own Christian Social Party for granting too much and giving in too fast to Congo nationalists. The specific issue which sparked Van Hemelrijck's departure was his recent announcement—without, it is said, consultation with the Cabinet—that he favored the formation by next March of a provisional central government.

- The government has emphasized that it has no intention of going back on its January 1959 pledge of developing the Congo into a fully independent African state, but the implication is clear that there will be a slowing down in the pace toward this goal envisaged by Van Hemelrijck.

- Premier Eyskens moved quickly to fill the post vacated by Van Hemelrijck, obviously determined to avoid henceforth any impression of vacillation on Congo policy. The new man is an experienced senior political leader, with an intimate knowledge of Congo affairs—Auguste DeSchrijver, former president of the Christian Social Party and chairman of the parliamentary commission which investigated (and found wanting) Belgium's African policies earlier this year.

- There were pointed indicators that the authorities intend to keep African political activities in hand during the coming weeks before the Congo's first national elections (to local and territorial assemblies) in December. More than 100 persons were arrested at Luluabourg in August because they followed a strike call issued by the Congolese National Movement. Two additional battalions of Belgian parachute troops have arrived from Europe. The Public Force, a militarized police unit consisting of European commissioned and non-commissioned officers and Congolese soldiers, has been holding conspicuous



EX-MINISTER Van Hemelrijck at inauguration of new Congo Legislative Council in May.

maneuvers near Leopoldville. And for the first time in the history of the Congo, Belgian naval units have arrived to make a show of force at the new naval base of Banana at the mouth of the Congo River.

In the course of the week-long Cabinet debate on Van Hemelrijck's policies, there was considerable speculation that his departure might precipitate a ministerial crisis which would spell the end of Premier Eyskens' uneasy coalition of Liberal and Christian Socialist (i.e., Catholic) deputies. However, the fact that no other ministers joined Van Hemelrijck's walk-out is taken as an indicator that the Christian Social party has now closed ranks behind Premier Eyskens and that the government will survive this particular crisis intact.

Belgian Political Alignments

An analysis of the official statement on Van Hemelrijck's resignation indicates that he had the backing of several Christian Social Ministers, of the Roman Catholic missions in the Congo, and of a number of members of the Socialist opposition. He was strongly opposed by the Liberal Party element in the government coalition, which takes a conservative view of Congo policies and has long pressed for political power for Belgian white settlers on the Rhodesian model. Although the Liberal Party controls only about 10 percent of the seats in Parliament and is a minor partner in the coalition, its views carry a great deal of weight because of the party's

fortuitous balance-wheel role: the other 90 percent of the seats are divided almost equally between the Christian Social Party and the opposition Socialist Party, and neither of the major parties could form a government alone. The Christian Social Party and the Socialists are, in terms of Congo policies as well as many other matters, more logical bedfellows than the Liberals in combination with either, but the nature of Belgian politics would seem to rule out, for the time being, any such powerful union of the two large groups.

Symbolic for Africans

The question still being hotly debated in Brussels and Leopoldville is the significance for Belgium's long-term position in Africa of what amounts to a reversal in midstream of Van Hemelrijck's policy of accelerated democratization. One thing is certain: despite official protestations that the recent ministerial change implies no change in basic Belgian policies in the Congo, and despite Van Hemelrijck's replacement by the chairman of the parliamentary investigatory commission which filed a most outspoken report last March citing the attitude of white residents in the Congo as the prime cause of unrest in the Congo, the switch has momentous symbolic significance for the Congolese.

Van Hemelrijck had become a living personality to hundreds of Africans during his extensive tours of the Congo in recent months, he was trusted by them, and, of course, he was saying, for the most part, the things they wanted to hear. During his June tour of the territory, when he was warmly received by Africans everywhere, it was made fully evident to the Congolese that the white settlers were out to get him: they demonstrated their antagonism to his policies by painting "go home" signs on walls along his route, boycotting parties in his honor, and closing shops in silent protest. *Ipsa facto*, the Africans reason, if Van Hemelrijck goes, it is because the settlers have won out in Brussels.

Van Hemelrijck himself remains convinced that his policy of keeping ahead of African political demands is the safest way to assure the rise of a moderate political elite among the Congo's Africans and Belgium's long-range economic and cultural association with the emerging state. "A policy of piecemeal concessions," he said in his resignation statement, "may ap-

pear to be successful for a short period, but it is most likely to provoke a crisis much more serious than the last one. . . . We have before our eyes the failure of the Dutch policy in Indonesia, which eventually provoked a complete break between the two countries. Our present policy will increase confusion and discontent among the Congolese people."

Many close observers of the African scene supported Van Hemelrijck's interpretation. The authoritative magazine *West Africa* observed in its September 12 issue that "commentators who have recently been in the Congo believe that M. Van Hemelrijck had correctly gauged a very dangerous situation, and that the Belgian Government is making a great mistake in not granting wider powers sooner to Africans. The present political calm is described merely as the calm before the storm." The *Christian Science Monitor's* African correspondent reports that "the departure of the popular M. Van Hemelrijck has had a shattering effect in Belgium's African colony."

Critics Charge Miscalculation

Mr. Van Hemelrijck's critics, on the other hand, argue that continuing unrest in the Congo is largely the result of a serious miscalculation by the Congo Ministry last January and of Van Hemelrijck's irresponsibility in arousing African hopes and demands by making promises that he knew would not be supported at home. Van Hemelrijck, it will be remembered, came to office shortly before the Leopoldville riots, and took the lead in preparing for proclamation on January 13 what was to have been a dramatic surprise statement of liberal policy offering the Congo ultimate independence in association with Belgium. After the riots, there was a strong body of opinion both inside and outside the government which felt that the statement should either be postponed or modified, since it appeared to constitute a "knuckling under" to African pressure rather than the spontaneous gesture it was originally intended to be. It is argued that the Congolese—who heretofore had enjoyed no political rights whatsoever, and had only the barest shadow of a nationalist organization—would almost certainly have accepted something less than the full offer of independence at that time.

But the decision was made to go ahead with the original statement, with the objective of encouraging moderate Africans who could be expected to work with Belgium in the evolutionary process. Once having embraced this policy, Van Hemelrijck decided there should be no equivocation: the ball could be kept out of the extremists' hands only if Belgium itself raced ahead of the field to the prescribed goal. He was personally convinced that, in such a contest,

moderate Africans would win out and that they would recognize the need for a continuing relationship with Belgium. Any sane African government, he reasoned, would be impelled by economic facts alone to work in partnership with Belgium, whose vast, continuing investment in the Congo (already estimated at \$10,000,000,000, and with another \$1,500,000,000 development program getting underway) is the touchstone of the territory's prosperous economy. The problem was that he was uncompromising in this view, and, ignoring his critics, persevered singlemindedly with his policy. In so doing, he raised African expectations without due consideration to the increasing political indicators that he might not have the opportunity to make good on the promises he was making. This free-wheeling, his critics maintain, was bound from the beginning to agitate Africans unnecessarily.

There is as yet no clear indication as to what kind of a national African leadership is eventually to emerge from the myriad of small parties—46 at last count—which have sprung up since Congolese political organization was legalized in January. Earlier in the year, it looked as if Joseph Kasavubu's Abako movement (*L'Association des Bakongo pour l'Unification, la Conservation et l'Expansion de la Langue Kikongo*) would become the leading contender for political power, but Kasavubu's star as a national figure has waned since he came out on June 23 with a plan to set up a secessionist Bakongo tribal state in the rich southern part of the Congo. It has most certainly waned with the Belgian government. For the time being, the largest of the newly-emergent groups and the only one with a nationwide audience is the Congolese National Movement, led by Patrice Lumumba, a former postal clerk.

The problem remains, and will remain for many years to come, the al-



HIGHEST-RANKING African civil servant in Congo is Jean Bolikango, recently-appointed Assistant Commissioner-General of the Government general information service, shown here with the Commissioner-General, M. Hemeleers.

most total absence of an educated elite with any administrative experience within any of these parties. Although the Congo's Africans eat better, are better cared for, and have a higher literacy rate than almost any other territory in Africa, the pre-1959 Belgian system of paternalistic rule purposefully avoided the development of a Europeanized, educated elite and discouraged political participation at any level of society. While the Belgians are giving primary education to nearly 70 percent of Congolese Africans every year, there are less than 6,000 secondary school students, and the multi-racial Louvain University in Leopoldville produced its first five African graduates last year. Indeed, the total number of Africans with university degrees in the country is believed to be about 12.

Even in the civil service, there were only about 500 Congolese at the beginning of this year, mostly minor clerks. While the Belgian administration is now making a serious effort to improve this situation—by expanding secondary education, arranging for more qualified Africans to get advanced training, opening up the higher ranks of the civil service—education is a slow process, and it will be a long time before the Congo will have the kind of expertise at the top available in most of the French and British territories at a similar political stage. The Belgian intention had been to build from the bottom to the top, almost exactly the opposite of the British and French concept of Africanization; it had many virtues to recommend it if the fast pace of history had not got in the way.

DeSchrijver Outlines Program

On September 7, the new Congo Minister, Mr. De Schrijver, broadcast a message to the Congo in which he reviewed and elaborated on the timetable established last January. He confirmed that urban and rural elections will be held by universal suffrage in December, and announced that the Provincial Councils, 60 percent of whose members will be elected by the urban and rural councils and 40 percent nominated by the Belgian Administration, will be established before March 1960. The Provincial Councils will, he said, have "a large measure of autonomy." By 1960, he went on, two assemblies—the General Council (house of representatives) and Legislative Council (senate)—will be fully functioning and their powers will be "substantial." He also reiterated that the Civil Service will be increasingly Africanized through the introduction of probationers. It is not yet clear how the new Minister intends to deal with the two major African parties, the Abako and Lumumba's Congolese National Movement, both of which are threatening to boycott the upcoming elections and sever contacts with the Belgian administration.

NEWS ROUNDUP

MALI WANTS INDEPENDENCE SOON

Representatives of the recently-established West African Federation of Mali (i.e., Senegal and Soudan) have served notice on French President Charles de Gaulle that they intend to demand independence soon. This development was made known in a radio broadcast by Mali Premier Modibo Keita of the Soudan following the meeting in Paris early in September of the executive committee of the French Community. Mr. Keita later told reporters that no specific date had been fixed, and emphasized that the federation hopes to attain its goal by negotiation with France, has no intention of estranging itself from France unless forced to, and does not object in principle to a Commonwealth-type organization. Unofficial reports suggested 1960 is Mali's target date for independence.

GEORGE PADMORE DIES IN LONDON

George Padmore, one of the ideological fountainheads of modern African nationalism, died in a London hospital Sept. 24 of a liver ailment. An indefatigable worker, the 56-year-old West Indian-born writer and political theorist devoted his life to planning and coordinating the non-violent liberation and social and economic reconstruction of the African continent. He served since 1957 as adviser to the Prime Minister of Ghana on African affairs and had a major hand in planning the African conferences held in Accra during the past two years. Educated in the United States, Padmore later worked in Moscow with the Communist International. Turning away from Communism, he developed the ideology and strategy of a dynamic Pan-Africanism as the path to change in Africa, and his personal teachings and advice have been an important inspiration to many nationalist leaders.

NIGERIANS HOTLY DEBATE FUTURE FOREIGN POLICY

Two of Nigeria's regional premiers, touring the country in preparation for the country's forthcoming pre-independence national elections, engaged in a spirited, fortnight-long foreign policy debate via the press in September. Dr. Nnamdi Azikwe, leader of the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons and premier of the Eastern Region, took sharp issue with an Action Group foreign policy declaration advocating close alignment with the Western democracies and warning Nigerians against Egyptian designs on the African continent. Dr. Azikwe charged that the Action Group policy proposal (which had been enunciated by Chief Obafemi Awolowo, leader of the party and premier of the Western Region) would betray the nationalistic struggle by aligning Nigeria with colonial powers; deprive Nigeria of initiative and diplomatic bargaining power; unnecessarily antagonize some power states; introduce the spirit of chauvinism into the international arena; and exacerbate religious tensions by alienating Arabs who are Nigeria's good neighbors. Meanwhile, at an Action Group

annual congress, Chief Awolowo told his supporters that his party would promote friendship between Nigeria and African countries and the whole world, but warned that any serious attempt to bring about political union among the African states was bound to create suspicion, distrust, and disharmony among those states. On Sept. 16, a third major Nigerian party, the Northern People's Congress, said in a policy statement it would "rule out completely any idea of adopting a policy of neutrality in international affairs" and called specifically for "increasing friendship with the United States of America." The NPC statement advocated close cooperation with all countries in the African continent and particularly those in West Africa, but said the question of West African Federation or Union is at present premature.

THE KABAKA WINS A POINT

After a prolonged exchange of letters between Colonial Secretary Alan Lennox-Boyd and the Kabaka of Uganda's Buganda Province, the British Government has at last agreed to hold talks with the Kabaka's government regarding possible revision of the Buganda Agreements instituted when the Kabaka was permitted to return from exile in 1955. The conversations, which were scheduled to begin in late September, will explore how Buganda might best fit into a future self-governing Uganda while preserving and safeguarding the Kabakaship and the separate identity and traditions of Buganda.

NEW PARTY TURNED DOWN IN KENYA

Defying the official ban against the formation of colony-wide political parties based on a single race, six prominent African members of the Kenya Legislative Council announced in late August that they had applied for registration of a new all-African Kenya Independence Movement. The Government later turned down the application, leaving the situation obscure. The president is A.O. Odinga, while Dr. J.G. Kiano is chairman and Tom Mboya general secretary. A policy statement by the new party took a swipe at the multi-racial National Party organized a few weeks earlier by other Africans on the Legislative Council: "African freedom will be achieved only through African nationalism. We refuse to sacrifice our nationalism for vague and deceptive non-racialism or multi-racialism."

UAR-SUDAN ACCORD PREDICTED

The usually authoritative Cairo daily, al-Ahram, quotes Sudanese Minister of Information Major General Muhammad Talaat Farid as well as the UAR Ambassador to the Sudan as having predicted that a UAR-Sudanese agreement will be reached by November 17 settling the Nile waters issue and other pending questions between the two neighboring nations. The paper said that a Sudanese mission will come to Cairo to finalize the discussions as soon as the current trials of Sudanese officers ac-

NEWS ROUNDUP

cused of plotting against the regime of General Ibrahim Abboud are ended.

US-LIBERIAN DEFENSE AGREEMENT REVEALED

The US State Department announced on September 10 the signature, some two months earlier, of a defense agreement with Liberia promising to consult immediately with the West African republic on appropriate defense measures "in the event of aggression or threat of aggression against Liberia." A second article reaffirms that the United States will "continue to furnish the Government of Liberia such assistance as may be mutually agreed upon... in order to assist Liberia... in the effective promotion of its economic development and in the preservation of its national independence and integrity."

INDEPENDENCE FOR DAHOMEY?

The carefully contrived three-party coalition which has governed Dahomey since the April election has been rocked by serious tremors. Former Premier Sourou Mignan Apithy, whose Republican Party controls one-third of the seats in Dahomey's 70-man parliament, took direct issue this month with the pro-Community orientation of the government and launched a movement with the objective of full independence for Dahomey in 1960. Apithy is strongly opposed in this purpose by the two other parties of the coalition -- Premier Hubert Maga, Northern Party and the RDA -- but has the public support of the recently created Dahomean affiliate of the Federalist Party launched by the founders of Mali. Federalists have no parliamentary seats in Dahomey at present but the party includes some influential political figures and has organized several small youth movements.

PERSONALITIES

• Sir Patrick Renison, who has had broad experience with thorny political, constitutional, and racial issues as Governor of British Guiana and British Honduras, takes over one of Britain's most delicate colonial posts this month -- the Governorship of Kenya. He is 48. Sir Evelyn Baring, retiring Governor of Kenya, is slowly recuperating from lung inflammation and strained heart muscles suffered as a consequence of his heroic rescue of an Indian girl from the sea at Malindi in early September. He is scheduled to leave Nairobi on October 13.

• Dr. Hastings Banda, leader of the proscribed Nyasaland African National Congress, is to remain in detention indefinitely, according to a recent announcement by the Governor, Sir Robert Armitage. In accordance with the Emergency Regulations of 1959, the cases of Dr. Banda, H.B. Chipembere, and D.K. Chisiza have been officially reviewed, with the result that no changes will be made in their detention orders. Of the 1,322 persons detained since March, 539 remain under arrest.

• J.W. Kiwanuka, Dr. Kununka, and Paul Sengendo, who were heretofore Chairman, Secretary-General, and Treasurer, respectively, of the Uganda National Congress, have been suspended from their posts by the party's Central Executive Committee. Kiwanuka was charged with too much freewheeling without consultation with the party and with having "lost interest in the fight against imperialism and colonialism in Uganda and all over the world."

• Charles Mutara Rudahigwa, the seven foot tall Mwami (King) of Ruanda territory, who died of a brain hemorrhage at the age of 47 in July, has been succeeded by his half-brother, Jean-Baptiste Ndahindurwa, now to be called Kigeri. The situation has been tense in Ruanda since the royal death because of persistent rumors that the Mwami had not died a natural death. However, the police have been reinforced and order maintained.

• Premier Sekou Toure of Guinea has announced that, in addition to his visit to the United States in October as the guest of President Eisenhower, he has accepted invitations to visit Britain, Israel, Tunisia, and Egypt during the coming months.

• Sir George Mooring, formerly Deputy Governor of the Western Region of Nigeria, has been appointed British Resident in Zanzibar. He inherits a tense political situation: demands for immediate self-government for the island were set forth by the island's two political parties (the Afro-Shirazi Party and the Zanzibar Nationalists) late in August, and were promptly rejected by the incumbent British Resident, Sir Henry Potter. Constitutional advances would be discussed, the authorities said, "at the appropriate time," but to contemplate granting Zanzibar nationalists their demands at present would be "an act of wanton irresponsibility."

• Emperor Haile Selassie, just back from an extensive tour of European capitals, is already thinking of packing his bags again. He has announced that he will attend the Sudan's independence anniversary celebrations on January 1, 1960 and will then tour the capitals of the independent African states.

• Harry Oppenheimer, head of the vast industrial empire which controls -- among other interests -- the gold, diamond, and uranium industry of South Africa, announced his resignation from the opposition United Party on September 2. He said that he was "in general sympathy" with the "progressive group" which broke away from the party in August. Eleven of the United Party's 53 members in the House of Assembly have now bolted the parent group. In policy statements since the rift, the progressives have indicated they stand for increased non-white participation in both the economic and political life of the country and aim at consultation with non-white leaders.

"This nation cannot afford to sit on the fence any longer. Our Government must respond to the challenges of emergent Africa with speed, imagination, and sensitivity. We must have a new sense of urgency . . . We are the natural allies of the forces of freedom in Africa. If we let them down the cause of genuine freedom may fail."

A Senator Looks at Africa

By HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

U. S. Senator from Minnesota

The following is an abridged text of an address by Sen. Humphrey before the United States Senate on Sept. 2, 1959.

THE several Accra Conferences, which have brought together leaders of independent African states as well as representatives from political groups in many of the African territories, have played a key role in spreading nationalist and pan-African doctrines and enthusiasm throughout Africa. Even an old established independent country like Ethiopia has been affected by the new spirit of freedom running like an electric current through Africa.

By studying the careers and pronouncements of men like Nkrumah and Mboya we can get an authentic clue to the aspirations and possible future course of African nationalism. These men are moderate and responsible, moderate in the political means they employ and advocate, and responsible in their judgments of the international situation. They know what communism is and what communism wants. They know what the United States stands for. They know there is a great struggle between two alternative ways of organizing human society. In short, they know the political facts of life and deserve our sympathetic understanding, encouragement, and support.

But it would be a great mistake for us to assume that the newly independent African states will adopt anything

but a neutral position in the struggle between the Communist world and the Western coalition. The African nations south of the Sahara will doubtless follow a course very much like that of Nehru's India. I see no reason why our Government should be disturbed if these nations coming into freedom choose to adopt a policy of nonalignment in the present struggle. Their commitment is to freedom and independence.

It would also be a great mistake if we would expect the new African states to adopt our version of democracy, which happens to be the most complex and difficult system of government in history. The existing independent African countries include a wide variety of governmental systems: absolute monarchy, oligarchic republic, military dictatorship, constitutional monarchy, authoritarian republic, and so on. Undeniably there are certain democratic elements in African societies, but they will be reflected in ways peculiar to Africa. Indeed, it is most likely that entirely new political systems will evolve as African leaders not only seek out and adopt the best and most suitable of their traditions and values, but also adapt their rule to the difficult problems to be faced.

Need for Development

Now I wish to turn to the urgent need for economic development in Africa, a need recognized by all nationalist leaders. This need is so obvious

that it requires little elaboration. But perhaps a few figures will help to drive the point home. Three-quarters of Africa's 220 million people—the highest proportion in any continent—are engaged in subsistence agriculture. Yet most of Africa's soil is not fertile. Its agricultural productivity is the lowest of all the continents, when measured by person or by acre. The raw materials picture is considerably brighter, but—as evidenced by the fall of prices in 1957—Africa cannot achieve economic growth without sustained world demand for its primary products.

Furthermore, it should be remembered that significant mineral production takes place only in certain areas, most of which are under colonial or South African control. The plight of a country like Somalia, with virtually no competitive export commodities, would be little short of desperate without external aid.

The need for economic development is also vital to the newly independent countries on political grounds. As the economies of the African territories have shifted to a money basis, the people have come increasingly into contact with the material goods produced by modern industrial societies, and naturally they want some of the fruits of our technical age. The nationalist movements are regarded by the African peoples, with encouragement from their leaders, as the best means of gaining such benefits. If higher living standards do not follow



SENATOR HUMPHREY

independence, the political leaders who embrace free political institutions will find it difficult to retain power.

In terms of economic factors, the future relationship of Africa with Western Europe is very significant. It is extremely important to both continents that close and mutually profitable trade ties be maintained. Western European imports from, and exports to, Africa amount to some \$4 billion annually each way. In spite of Africa's relative poverty, it is a better market for Europe than is the United States.

Moreover, the colonial powers until recently have been investing almost \$600 million annually in their African territories, with France making the largest contribution. In addition, the Common Market countries in 1957 created a joint 5-year development fund of \$581 million for the African territories as a part of the Eurafrika concept. This has not been pure gain because the expected level of regular investment has fallen as the fund has come into effect. Nevertheless, these figures illustrate the size of the gap that would result if European investment were stopped or seriously curtailed. There is no question but that the Soviet block would be quite ready to step into that gap, and probably in a dramatic way.

Communist Opportunities

Soviet interest in Africa clearly has been increasing and at a fast rate. Africa's current economic weakness and racial conflicts provide ample opportunities for Communist penetration. Yet there appears to be little likelihood that any African country will adopt communism in the foreseeable future. On the other hand, it seems probable that the influence of the U.S.S.R. as a great power will carry increasing weight with the independent African states. Soviet bloc penetration is being intensified through diplomatic measures, trade missions, economic credits and educational grants. Moreover, the U.S.S.R. gains a substantial propaganda advantage from its free-wheeling blasts at racial discrimination or prejudice wherever it exists in Africa, or where it is directed against Negroes in western nations like the United States. These are serious developments, but I consider it unlikely that the U.S.S.R. will gain a dominant influence over any African country in the future so long as we do not default on our responsibilities and opportunities.

There are many observers who believe it more likely that Communist China would serve as an example to the emergent African states. Here again, if the United States continues its efforts to ensure the success of India's economic experiment, we need not fear Communist China's powers of attraction. It is a fact that Nehru and his great country currently have far more prestige and influence in Africa than any other Asian state.

Guidelines for U. S. Policy

Against this background, Mr. President, I would like to say a few words about U.S. policy toward the African Continent. . .

At the outset I want to commend the administration for giving increasing attention to Africa. We have been moving in the right direction, but I submit that we have not been moving fast enough to keep up with the pace of events. We do not have a real sense of urgency. We have not yet fully grasped the significance of Africa in the unfolding drama of world politics. We may be in danger of approaching Africa with too little and too late. When I say "too little" I am not talking primarily in material and quantitative terms, but rather in moral and political terms.

Let me suggest several priorities in our approach to Africa, guidelines to a positive, and I believe imaginative, policy, worthy of our great heritage and adequate to the challenge we confront. I will indicate these priorities in the present tense imperative.

First. The United States should approach Africa with a deep understanding of the present aspirations and past achievements of the African peoples. We should approach the countries of Africa as friends and partners in a common quest for human dignity, not patronizing, but in a spirit of neighborliness. We should not be ashamed of our ideals and humanitarian tradition. Nor should we be embarrassed if humanitarian and security objectives sometimes coincide in our national policy.

Second. The United States should develop a unified and coordinated long-range policy toward Africa as a whole. We should recognize the fundamental unity of Africa which underlies its rich diversity. The peoples of Africa are united by their common quest for freedom. The peoples of Africa are united in their common quest against poverty, disease, and illiteracy. Our strategy should be bold enough to encompass the continent and sensitive enough to honor the great diversity in cultural, social, economic, and political life within it.

Era of Total Diplomacy

Third. The United States should look upon Africa as a fresh opportunity to develop a comprehensive and positive diplomatic approach. In addition to sending traditional diplomatic officers to newly independent states, we should immediately send teams of qualified specialists in the fields of agriculture, labor, education, medicine, economics, public administration and the like, to supplement the classical diplomatic representation. These persons representing the breadth of our relations with emergent Africa should also reflect the cultural and racial diversity of our own population.

In this era of total struggle and total diplomacy, food, medicine and

books, along with economic aid and technical assistance, are indispensable foreign policy instruments. In some cases these less traditional instruments may be decisive.

Fourth. The United States should increase substantially its cultural and educational exchange activities with Africa. Cultural exchange is an important road to mutual understanding and we should encourage it. Of all the aspects of a well rounded exchange program, education is the most vital for Africa at this crucial period. A higher level of literacy and technical education is a prerequisite to economic development, which in turn is a precondition to higher living standards . . . The volume of our student exchange program should be increased tenfold.

Fifth. The United States should accelerate and strengthen its technical assistance program in Africa. A sound technical aid program contributes to short-range welfare goals as well as to long-range welfare development objectives . . .

Sixth. The United States should help to encourage economic development in Africa by increasing the flow of trade and investment capital . . .

Stalled on Dead Center

Seventh. The United States should review its policy toward political developments in Africa. Our cultural and economic approach to Africa has been going in the right direction. This is all to the good. But our efforts thus far have not been adequate to the challenge we confront.

Of our political and diplomatic approach, not even this much can be said. Our voting record at the United Nations on African problems seems to be stalled on dead center. When we are confronted with a decision on the Portuguese territories, the Union of South Africa, or South-West Africa, we seem to forget our traditional principles of freedom and human dignity.

A frozen position is neither good morals nor good politics. Our delayed and ambiguous response to Guinea's request for aid early this year, for example, made it easier for that country to accept the generous assistance offered by the Communist bloc.

Such unimaginative and conservative responses to the challenges of emergent Africa suggests the conclusion that the vigorous railsplitters of the 1850's have become the stolid fence-sitters of the 1950's.

The Problem of Algeria

Mr. President, I have reserved the most controversial problem until the very end—the Algerian dilemma. All the drama, pathos and tragedy of world politics are dynamically present in this vexing problem for which there is no easy answer.

The problem of Algeria is a dramatic example of the dilemma we face in

Africa. Because of our admiration and affection for the French people and because of France's vital importance in the Western alliance, we have failed to give adequate political and diplomatic expression to the instinctive sympathy of the American people for the aspiration of the Algerians for freedom and self-government.

This sympathy for Algerian aspirations has risen to the point where it is becoming politically impossible for us to remain on the fence much longer. Even if the newspapers in this country had not made it completely clear that Americans are not content to remain neutral on the side of the French in this Algerian situation, articulate voices among our constituents would have convinced us that our paralytic policy cannot and must not be maintained. At the same time, the developing trend toward another critical vote on Algeria at the U.N. is confronting us with a decision which surely cannot be one in favor of an untenable status quo.

The war in Algeria must be ended. The continuing blood bath resulting from the terrorism and counter-terrorism of guerrilla warfare can only lead to barbarism and the betrayal of all the best and most civilized instincts of those involved. Further devastation and other wasting of resources can only vastly increase the sums needed for Algerian human and material development and slow down further economic progress in France.

Negotiations Urged

But it is not enough to recite the hard facts. What can the United States do to promote a settlement?

First, we need to clarify U.S. policy so that it plainly reflects the historical principles and majority sentiments of our people. Neither France nor the Algerian nationalists should be encouraged to remain in doubt about our policy, for such doubts could promote intransigence, and thus prolong the terrible conflict.

The prime ingredients of our national attitude toward the Algerian conflict are friendship for France on the one hand and the desire to see Algerians given their freedom on the other. And do not believe for a minute that these feelings are mutually exclusive. . .

I believe our policy must favor freedom of expression for the Algerian people. This cannot be achieved while the conflict continues. And the war will not be ended if the friends of France and Algeria support the most extreme positions advanced by either side. Almost certainly, it can only cease through agreement between the contestants, and such an agreement surely must be reached through negotiations.

We have quite rightly favored mediation efforts by Tunisia and Morocco, but, for a variety of reasons, these have not as yet borne fruit. The time



African states pin hopes on development.

has perhaps arrived for us to invite France to avail itself of the good offices of the United States if there is anything that this country can do to hasten the end of the Algerian conflict.

I have said "perhaps arrived" because I believe that President de Gaulle, the authentic voice of France, can without interference bring about a resolution of the problem if he succeeds in gaining the cooperation of moderate Algerian nationalists, and I do not exclude Mr. Ferhat Abbas from that category. The creation of the French Community is clear evidence that President de Gaulle has the political brilliance, flexibility, and wisdom to find the answer to the need for a new but close French-Algerian relationship. The burning question, to my mind, is one of time. . .

The alliance between our countries is too old and valuable to be diminished by any reluctance to face facts when we so clearly need each other's help as we confront major problems vital to the strength and well-being of the entire free world.

U. S. Must Respond

I want to say as emphatically as I can, that this Nation cannot afford to sit on the fence any longer. Our Government must respond to the challenges of emergent Africa with speed, imagination, and sensitivity. We must have a new sense of urgency.

But neither the Congress nor the administration can do what needs to be done without the support of the American people. And the people will

not support a new initiative toward Africa until they are better, much better informed, than they are now. Solid public understanding is the foundation for sound public policy.

The time has come for the mass mediums of communication throughout the length and breadth of this land to proclaim the true Africa story. Not the story of big game safaris and strange tribal customs, but the story of an Africa reaching out for freedom and self-respect.

Our reporters and commentators should portray an Africa at the very center of the world struggle between democracy and communism. Africa is crucial in this struggle precisely because she is neutral and politically unaligned.

Our schools and colleges should give Africa the attention she deserves by virtue of her role in the present world drama. The Soviet Union is and has been giving Africa a great deal of attention in her educational system and political indoctrination program. Mr. Khrushchev knows that Africa, like India, is in a pivotal position in the coming decades and he is leaving little to chance.

Today it is not too late, but tomorrow it may be. We are the natural allies of the forces of freedom in Africa. If we let them down the cause of genuine freedom in Africa may fail. If the cause of freedom in Africa fails the cause of freedom in the world may fail. The stakes are high. The challenge is great. Will our response be adequate to the challenge? I hope and pray that it will be.

ECONOMIC NOTES

"COMMON MARKET" PROJECTS

Six African territories associated with the European Common Market organization are to benefit from the first of a series of loans for development projects approved by the organization late last month. They were among the few selected thus far from among more than 100 projects submitted to the Common Market by associated overseas territories in recent months.

Eight projects valued at just over \$2,000,000 have been approved for the Belgian Congo, including a medical center and two housing projects; \$2,500,000 is to be invested in two road-building projects and a tea-growing scheme in Ruanda-Urundi; \$400,000 has been earmarked for assistance in the construction of a hospital, nurses' training college and dispensaries in Dahomey; \$2,000,000 will go to the Ivory Coast to assist in the development of water facilities and the construction of dispensaries; \$458,000 will go to French Togoland for railway modernization and improvement of port facilities at Lome; and several projects have been approved for Madagascar.

The investment fund for the associated territories was set up by the six European founder-members of the Common Market—France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Italy, Germany and Luxembourg.

IBRD TO AID MAURETANIA

The World Bank announced in late August that it will extend a \$45,000,000 loan to Miferma, the consortium of British and French interests concerned with iron ore exploitation in Mauretania. Miferma has already invited bids from contractors to build the 470-mile railway required to connect the mine, which is located at Fort Gouraud, with Port Etienne and to build workers' houses in the port city. Technical experts estimate that the mine will eventually produce 6,000,000 tons of high quality ore annually.

AFRICAN PURCHASING POWER

South Africa's 10,000,000 Africans have become an increasingly important factor in the nation's economy during the past decade, according to a recent market survey undertaken in Johannesburg on behalf of advertising agencies studying the potential of the African market. African purchasing power in the Union has more than doubled in the last five years and is still rising—from \$560,000,000 in 1953 to an estimated \$1,260,000,000 in 1959. Some of the rise is attributed to improved wages for Africans, but the major factor has been the movement of increasing numbers of Afri-

cans into commerce and industry. Sixty percent of the African buying power is accredited to that third of the native population residing in cities and towns. The survey also revealed that racial segregation, strictly enforced in almost every other sphere, does not extend to shops. Service for Africans at separate counters is rapidly disappearing in smaller towns and villages, and Africans are now welcomed in most urban shops and banks. In the last year, nearly \$1,000,000 was spent on advertising in African newspapers and magazines.

NATIONALIZATION PROPOSED

A surprise proposal to nationalize the Northern Rhodesian copper mines has been drawn up by certain leaders of the 4500-man European Mineworkers' Union, according to reports in the Ndola newspaper *Northern News*. Commenting upon the newspaper report, Federal Minister of Finance D. MacIntyre discounted any possibility that the copper mines would be nationalized, citing the Rhodesian Federal Government's clear-cut policy of supporting private enterprise. *East Africa and Rhodesia* records that leaders of the copper mining industry in Salisbury have refrained from commenting officially on the proposal, but are reported to regard it as a "piece of colossal bluff" set in motion as part of the union's campaign to block African advancement. The nationalization group in the union is said to feel mines controlled by the government would be less likely to press African advancement than would private companies. Meanwhile, the proposal aroused some controversy at the union's branch level, where it had not been discussed.

NILE WATER REQUIREMENTS

East Africa's minimum requirements of Nile waters for irrigation purposes during the next 25 years are likely to be about 1,750 million cubic metres a year, according to a technical survey recently completed by Sir Alexander Gibb and Partners, a London firm of consulting engineers. This estimate, which is only a small fraction of the total flow of Nile water, has been officially communicated to the other states serviced by the mighty African river.

SOVIET LOAN TO GUINEA

The August visit of a Guinea Government economic mission to the Soviet Union culminated in the joint announcement that Russia would shortly make available a loan of 140,000,000 rubles (about \$35,000,000) to the new West African state. The loan is earmarked for economic and technical assistance in the building of industrial establishments, develop-

ing agriculture, and laying roads. Guinea will pay interest at 2.5 percent, and the loan is to be repaid in 12 years. Saifoulaye Diallo, president of the National Assembly and political secretary of Guinea's Democratic Party, headed the African delegation.

This is the second major Soviet loan to an independent African state in recent months. During Emperor Haile Selassie's recent visit to Moscow, it was announced that the USSR would lend Ethiopia the equivalent of \$100,000,000 for economic development purposes.

GERMAN CREDITS FOR GHANA

The West German Government has announced an agreement with Ghana to guarantee private investments in the developing West African state to the amount of \$50,000,000 equivalent. Details of the agreement are to be worked out in the fall when a German trade mission visits Accra to conclude a trade agreement, discuss the possibility of German technical assistance for Ghana, and draw up an investment program for overseas investors. A double taxation agreement, similar to those already arranged between Ghana and several Commonwealth countries, will also be negotiated so that at that time German investors will be protected from having to pay income tax both at home and in Ghana.

"Africa Special Report" is published by the African-American Institute, a private, non-profit organization incorporated under the laws of the District of Columbia and devoted to establishing closer bonds between the peoples of Africa and the United States. Other activities of the Institute include scholarship programs, teacher placement in Africa, and a variety of lecture, information and visitor services.

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American Teachers For West Africa

Twenty Go Out This Fall
Under Institute Program

THE American teacher is finding a place in the West African sun.

This fall, some 20 American teachers will take up posts in schools in Ghana and Nigeria under the auspices of the African-American Institute's Teacher Placement Service and indications are that many more will follow.

Placement of this number marks an increase in the activities of the Service and reflects the growing demand for teachers in these areas. It also reflects discovery by the American teacher that Africa is no longer the exclusive domain of the missionary or the big game hunter but rather a land of opportunity where the key word is "education" and he—the teacher—is a key man.

Of the 20 teachers, 14 are already at their desks—seven in Ghana and seven in Nigeria—and the remaining six are expected to join them soon.

Five of the teachers in Nigeria have been appointed education officers with the same conditions and status as British civil servants. This is believed to be the first time Americans have been taken into government employment in British West Africa except for a few cases marked by special circumstances. The other teachers are posted mainly at secondary schools and teacher training colleges.

The AAI Teacher Placement Service is the only program specializing in helping African schools find American teachers. It concentrates primarily on filling growing staff needs in secondary schools (corresponding to U.S. high schools) and in teacher training colleges. But it is also alert to opportunities for employment in secondary schools with a Sixth Form (corresponding roughly to the American Junior College), at universities, technical institutes, as well as in administrative work in civil service related to education, and at the elementary level.

As it stands today, any healthy American teacher with a Master's degree or a strong Bachelor's degree from a good university has an excellent chance for a post in a secondary school or teacher training college in Ghana and Nigeria.

More specifically, applicants should have at least 30-35 semester hours in their major subject and 25-30 in their minor or closely related subjects, and

the major and minor should be the same or closely related.

Both major and minor should be subjects taught in West African schools: English, History (European or African), Geography, Latin, Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Biology.

Applicants having an undergraduate major in one or two of these subjects, plus a Master's degree in Education are acceptable for teaching in teacher training colleges.

Specific academic requirements vary between Ghana and the various regions (Eastern, Western, Federal and Northern) of Nigeria. In some parts of Nigeria an especially strong Bachelor's degree from a major university may be accepted, but in Ghana no degree less than the Master's is presently recognized.

Education courses serve to give "teaching qualifications" and a somewhat higher salary, but must be in addition to credits in major and minor subjects.

Teaching experience is important, but not required in all cases.

Needless to say, the greatest demand is for science teachers. An applicant with a Master's degree in Chemistry, for example, may find as many as 50 schools bidding for his services.

Salaries are determined by the Ministry of Education on the basis of academic qualifications and teaching experience, according to a government-approved wage scale, and are paid by the school. Military experience is also a factor in determining pay.

While the wages do not equal the base starting salaries of most U.S. teachers, they are usually adequate for Ghana and Nigeria because of the lower cost of living. Also, there are numerous fringe benefits over and above the base salary, such as an "inducement allowance," which is a lump-sum gift paid at the beginning of service, plus a repatriation allowance of so much for each month of service. In addition, housing is either free or at a stated percentage of the base pay, i.e., 5, 7, or 10 per cent depending on school facilities.

Perhaps the most attractive feature of such an African assignment is paid leave amounting to 25 per cent of the

time worked and granted following the completion of the contract or at regularly stated intervals. While this is usually based on passage to the United Kingdom, since nearly all the ex-patriate teachers have been British, there are alternative possibilities of touring Europe or Africa.

In most schools in Nigeria, teachers serve from 18 to 24 months, with four to six months of paid leave at the end of the tour, and short local leaves between terms. In Ghana, a new plan provides for three year contracts, with annual leave abroad of approximately 10 weeks at the end of each year. In Northern Nigeria, the required contract provides for two tours of nine months, each being followed by three months of paid leave abroad.

There is no fixed date for all schools to open. Generally, school terms begin at a date of the schools' choosing during the periods January-February, April-May and August-September, thus providing opportunities for virtual year-round employment.

The AAI maintains an office in Accra, Ghana, where the director is in touch with ministries of education and schools in Ghana and Nigeria. Information on applicants is forwarded him for consideration by interested parties. Should a school be interested in an applicant, he or she will be invited to Washington at the Institute's expense for medical examinations and interviews. Having passed the Washington screening the applicant may then be offered a contract, the terms of which will have been approved by the Ministry of Education and the AAI Accra office. The applicant, therefore, will have advance knowledge of working and living conditions based on a personal visit to the school by the director of the AAI Accra office.

In the past there were numerous delays and yards of red tape that had to be eliminated before an American teacher could be placed in Ghana and Nigeria. Today, however, these factors are fast disappearing as the need for teachers increases and closer lines of communication are established. And, in the light of this, the American teacher now has the way clear for him to put his talents to use in the building of tomorrow's Africa.

(List of teachers, next page)



COLLINS



COLE



PUNCH



WALDKOETTER



STERNBACH



STERNBACH

Teachers Represent U.S. Cross-Section

A cross section of America is represented in the 20 teachers going to Ghana and Nigeria this fall under the auspices of the African-American Institute's Teacher Placement Program.

They range from a distinguished American educator with 23 years' experience on leave from Atlanta University, to recent college graduates with no teaching experience. More than half are married, and will be accompanied by wives and children, the youngest only a few months old. Two of the wives are registered nurses. They come from all parts of the United States.

Fourteen of the 20 teachers are already in their African classrooms and are listed below:

NIGERIA

Dr. Edward Weaver, on leave from his faculty post at Atlanta University, appointed Education Officer at the Umuahia Government College, Umuahia-Ibeku, Eastern Nigeria. Dr. Weaver is accompanied by his wife and 8-year-old son.

Edward E. Anderson, Detroit, Michigan, M.A. from Wayne State University and teaching experience in Detroit high schools, appointed Education Officer, and assigned to the Teacher Training College, Bida, Northern Nigeria. Anderson is accompanied by his wife, a daughter 8, and a son 6.

Peter Judd, Woodbury, Connecticut, a B.A. (cum laude) from Harvard

College with graduate work at Magdalen College, England, and Columbia University, appointed Education Officer and assigned to Provincial Secondary School, Maiduguri, Northern Nigeria.

Paul Richer, Mason City, Iowa, M.A. University of Minnesota, teaching experience elementary, high school, and university level, appointed Education Officer and assigned to the Woman's Training College, Kappa, Northern Nigeria. Mr. Richer is accompanied by his wife, a registered nurse, and an infant son.

Cameron Stewart, New Ulm, Minnesota, M.Ed., U.C.L.A., experienced high school and junior college, appointed Education Officer, and assigned to the Provincial Secondary School, Katsina, Northern Nigeria.

Ann Karry, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, B.A. in History from Rosary College, assigned to Marymount College, Agbor, Western Nigeria.

Marian McReynolds, Rockford, Illinois, B.A. in History from Rosary College, assigned to Marymount College, Agbor, Western Nigeria.

GHANA

Dr. Catherine Cole, Flint, Michigan, Ph.D. in Botany from University of Michigan, teaching experience at University of Michigan, Baldwin College, Wheaton College, Youngstown College, and Black Hills Teachers College, assigned to Aburi Girls' School, Aburi, Ghana.

Phillip Collins, Tucson, Arizona,

M.S. in Physics pending from University of Arizona, high school teaching experience, assigned to La Bone School, Accra, Ghana. He is accompanied by his wife and 2-year-old daughter.

David Punch, Brookline, Massachusetts, M.Ed. in Education from Boston University, high school teaching experience, assigned to St. John's Secondary School, Sekondi-Takoradi, Ghana.

Mr. and Mrs. Norman Sternbach, New York, New York. Mr. Sternbach has M.A. in Social Studies Education from New York University and Mrs. Sternbach has B.A. in Biology from Hunter College and has done graduate work at Columbia University Teachers College in Science Education in Secondary Schools. They are both assigned to Aquinas College, Accra, Ghana. The Sternbach's have two daughters, 9 and 5, and a son 7.

Raymond Waldkoetter, Indianapolis, Indiana, M.S. in Education and has completed all work toward his Ph.D. in Education except for his dissertation, assigned to Techiman Training College, Abetifi-Kwahu, Ghana. Mr. Waldkoetter is accompanied by his wife, a registered nurse, two daughters 4 and 2, and an infant son.

Marvin Bender, New Haven, Connecticut, M.A. in Mathematics from Dartmouth College, teaching experience on the university level, assigned to Adisadel College, Cape Coast, Ghana. Mr. Bender is accompanied by his wife and 2-year-old son.



McREYNOLDS



WEAVER



JUDD



KARRY



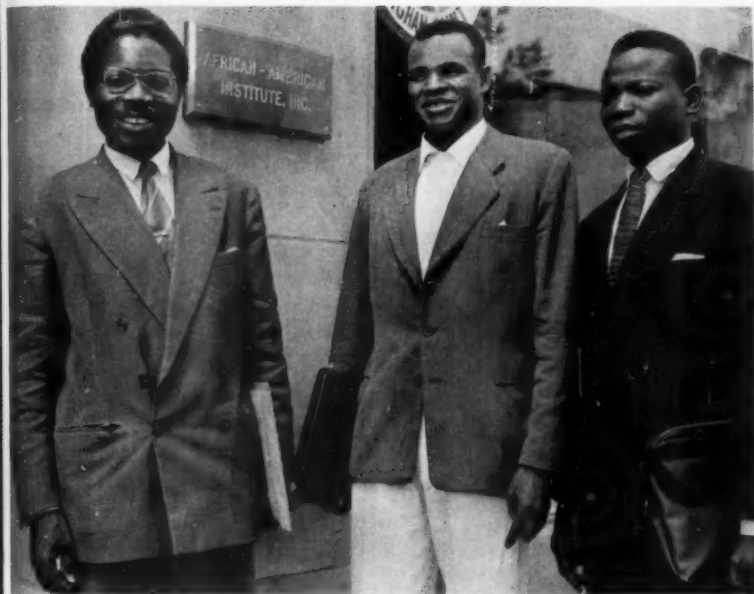
RICHER



ANDERSON



STEWART



STUDENT TRAVELERS Ferdinand Agblemagnon of Togo, Kaba Moussa of Guinea and Martial Sinda of the Congo Republic gather at the African-American Institute for programming of their U.S. tour.

Students, Diplomats Arrive Here in Record Numbers; Sekou Toure Due

THE American welcome mat was out in a big way for visitors from Africa in September. The month witnessed the largest single influx of African students, government officials, diplomats and educators ever to visit the United States. The beginning of the fall school term and an ever-expanding program of Government-sponsored exchanges combined to swell the ranks of arrivals. Opening of the current UN session in New York added to the numbers as Africa states strengthened their delegations to deal with issues of key African concern. Visitors ranged from cabinet ministers to Miss Nigeria to a special planeload of 81 students from Kenya (see page 14). In October the influx will continue, topped off at month's end by the State visit of President Sekou Toure of Guinea, who is due to arrive in Washington October 26 on a ten-day tour as the guest of President Eisenhower.

September's visitors included the following:

BELGIAN CONGO: Jean Buchmann, Dean of the Law Faculty, Louvain University, traveling on Belgian-American Friendship Society grant; Antoine Rubbens, lawyer and founder, Union Congolaise party, Elizabethville.

CONGO REPUBLIC: Martial Sinda, President of the Association des Etudiants Congolais en France.

FEDERATION OF RHODESIA & NYASALAND: Jasper Zengeza Savanhu, Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Home Affairs and first African in the Federal Cabinet; H. John Roberts, Member of Northern Rhodesia Government with portfolio of Lands and Local government, leader of United Federal Party in Northern Rhodesia.

GHANA: J. Benibengor Blay, Member of Parliament; Miss Justina A. (Continued on page 14)

COVER

Miss Nene Etule, an 18-year-old apprentice seamstress from Victoria, Southern Cameroons, is shown holding up two hand-carved calabashes on her arrival at New York's Idlewild Airport. Chosen as "Miss Nigeria" from 1,000 contestants, Miss Etule won a Pan-American Airlines trip to the U.S. as part of her prize in the Nigeria-wide competition sponsored by the Lagos Daily Times. She visited New York and Washington during her two-week stay, and was honor guest at African-American Institute receptions in both cities. Photo by Pan-American World Airways.

PROFILE

Young Leader Sees Key Role For Women

"WOMEN of Africa have got to play a full part in the development of their countries and get out and do something and not just sit around." This is the conviction of 28-year-old Lucy Lameck, a very politically-minded Tanganyikan who arrived in the U. S. this month to take up studies at Western Michigan University in Kalamazoo. A girl who practices what she preaches about getting out and doing something, Miss Lameck left her home on the slopes of Mt. Kilimanjaro in 1957 to study politics and economics at Ruskin College, Oxford before making her present trip to the United States.

Convinced that politics is not just a man's world, Miss Lameck states her determination to inspire the women of Tanganyika in the same belief, and to help them appreciate the tremendous responsibilities which Tanganyika's evolving nationhood places on their shoulders.

"Since Tanganyika is a vast country, economically poor with a dearth of leaders due to a lack of education, I felt I could make a contribution in the country in general and for the women in particular," she says of her decision to study abroad. "In order to be able to do all this I badly needed more knowledge, contacts and a more general outlook on the world's problems and the methods required to solve them."

Organizer for TANU

Miss Lameck is a keenly active member of Tanganyika's major political movement, the Tanganyika Africa National Union (TANU). She served as a district organizer and member of the Northern Province executive, where her work included drafting memos for presentation to U.N. visiting missions. When she went to Ruskin it was on a TANU scholarship. Recently, she sat in on some of the private discussions in London between TANU leader Julius Nyerere and Colonial Secretary Lennox-Boyd over Tanganyika's constitutional advance.

She has not seen her parents or her home town of Moshi for two years. "There is nothing unique about them. They are simple and lovable people like most parents," she says. A member of the Chagga tribe, she did clerical work for the famous Chagga coffee-producers cooperative (Kilimanjaro Native Cooperative Union) and represented women's interests on the Chagga Local Government edi-

(Continued on page 15)



JEAN BUCHMANN
Law Dean, Belgian Congo



CHUNILAL MADAN
Minister W/O Portfolio, Kenya



JASPER SAVANHU
Parliamentary Secretary, Rhodesia

VISITORS SET RECORD

(Continued from page 13)

D. Kodjoe, Probation Welfare Officer.²

GUINEA: Kaba Moussa, Chairman and General Secretary, Supreme Council of Guinean Students at Cairo.²

KENYA: Maj. Frederick Day, European Elected Member, Kenya Legislative Council, member Constitution Party, private visit; the Hon. Chuni-

lal Madan, Minister Without Portfolio, Kenya Government, and member of New Kenya Group.¹

NIGERIA: Henry Etim Duke, Collector, Nigeria Customs & Excise Service¹; Alhaji Umaru Gwandu, Speaker, Northern Region House of Assembly¹; the Hon. Victor Mukete, Minister of Information and Research and the Hon. Festus Okotie-Eboh, Minister of Finance, Federal Government, official business. In addition,

the following Nigerians are here to participate in a journalism training project at Northwestern University on four-month U.S. State Department specialist grants: Mallam J. H. Chindu, Editor, Nigerian Citizen; Stephen Nwobuora Iweanya, Editor, Southern Nigeria Defender; Gabriel Imomo Ghaingbain Okara, Assistant Press Officer, Eastern Nigeria Information Service.

SIERRA LEONE: Sylvester Broderick, Sierra Leone Department of Education, on one year U.S. State Department grant at Greensboro, North Carolina, Agricultural and Technical College.⁴

SOUDAN REPUBLIC: Seydon B. Koutate, Minister of Rural Economy and Planning.²

SOUTH AFRICA: Jack Naidoo, Vice Principal, Sultan Technical College, Durban, on joint Carnegie Corporation and State Department grant;¹ Laurence Owne Vine Gander, Editor, Rand Daily Mail.¹

TOGO: Ferdinand N'sougan Agble-magnon, Attache de Recherches au Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris.²

UGANDA: Amos K. Sempa, Minister of Finance, Kabaka's Government, Buganda Province.¹

AAI Scholars Arrive in U.S.

Twelve African students started college studies in the United States in September under scholarships awarded by the African-American Institute.

Earlier awards to 74 students already in the U. S. were announced in the May issue of Africa Special Report. Most of these were supplementary grants. The new arrivals, their schools and major fields of study are as follows:

GHANA (Undergraduate)

Emmanuel ADDISON, Cornell University, Agriculture
Sylvester AWUYE, Brandeis University, Sociology
Constance CEASAR, Smith College, Liberal Arts
John FREMPONG-BOADU, University of Pennsylvania, Veterinary Medicine
Andrew MIREUKU, Cornell University, Civil Engineering

GUINEA (Undergraduate)

Joy SMYTHE-MACAULAY, Douglass College of Rutgers University, Languages
Maka DIALLO, Boston University, Political Science

KENYA (Undergraduate)

Shadrack KWASA, Howard University, Education
James R. OLEMO, Purdue University, Science

NIGERIA (Graduate)

Adewunmi FAJANA, Atlanta University, Educational Administration
David FAMOROTI, St. Louis University, Mathematics

NORTHERN RHODESIA (Graduate)

Fwanyanga MULIKITA, Stanford University, Educational Psychology

¹ U.S. State Department grant, programmed by Governmental Affairs Institute, Washington, D. C.

² U.S. State Department student grant, programmed by African-American Institute, Washington, D. C.

³ U.S. State Department grant, programmed by National Social Welfare Assembly, New York.

⁴ Programmed by Conference Board of Associated Research Councils, Washington, D. C.

⁵ U.S. State Department grant, programmed by American Council of Education, Washington, D. C.



LUCY LAMECK
Political Organizer, Tanganyika

WOMEN'S LEADER

(Continued from page 13)

torial committee at the time she was doing committee work for TANU. In between working, traveling and looking after women's interests she also held the post of secretary of the Tanganyika Red Cross Committee.

She hopes to return to Tanganyika as a full-time political organizer, helping the territory prepare for independence, which she anticipates will come in a few years time.

In America, Miss Lameck plans to study political history, the federal structure of government and social and economic activity. The U.S., she believes, "has much to offer educationally and, of course, economically, to the underdeveloped areas."

Not one to be carried away by some of the sophisticated ways of the West, Lucy Lameck insists that African women must work within the context of their own culture. She has little tolerance for African girls who get a western education, put on western dress and then "look on themselves as semi-gods and isolate themselves from their people." These girls "must learn to go home where they are needed," Miss Lameck insists. "The future of Africa resides so much in the home and with the women. Their importance cannot be overstressed."

Miss Lameck's study visit to the United States is a typical product of coordinated assistance from several quarters. The University is providing a room and tuition scholarship. Delta Theta Sigma national sorority is also offering assistance. Other individuals and groups, including the Women's Africa Committee of the African-American Institute are cooperating to make her six-to-nine-month stay as valuable as possible.

Airlift Brings 81 East Africans Here for Study

Eighty-one students from Kenya arrived in New York by chartered plane Sept. 9. Many of them were recipients of scholarships arranged by Tom Mboya, member of the Kenya Legislative Council, during his recent lecture tour of the United States, and Dr. Gikonyo Kiano, also a member of the Legislative Council.

Following a two-day orientation period in New York, the students departed for various college campuses throughout the country to begin their education. Grants from individuals and organizations and scholarships from more than 40 U. S. colleges made the "airlift" operation possible.

The African-American Student Foundation of New York arranged the special flight and worked with Mr. Mboya in obtaining some of the scholarships. Former baseball star Jackie Robinson and entertainers Harry Belafonte and Sidney Poitier assisted in fund-raising.

U. S. consular officials in Nairobi, as well as African leaders and Kenya government officials, made special arrangement including overtime work to process the students in time for departure.

The 81 students took in the Empire State Building and the Statue of Liberty, visited the United Nations and attended a dance in their honor given by the Kenya Students Union in the Americas during their New York stay. At an orientation meeting, they were introduced to various organizations concerned with African education and were given talks on American life and culture. The New York program was arranged by the American Committee on Africa.

PUBLICATIONS

The Harmless People (by Elizabeth Marshall Thomas, Book-Of-The-Month Club, Inc.: New York, 1959; \$4.75). A record in prose and camera study of the lives of the Kalahari Bushmen. Mrs. Thomas, a Radcliffe graduate whose expeditions were under the auspices of the Peabody Museum at Harvard, gives a warm and detailed description of the manners and mores of these ancient peoples.

The Diaries of Lord Lugard, Volumes 1, 2 and 3 (edited by Margery Perham, Faber & Faber Ltd.; London, England, 1959; 8 guineas). Lord Lugard's day-to-day diary was not written for publication which may account for its lively interest. The adventures in what is now Uganda and Buganda of a young agent for the



CHAPMAN

Chapman Leaves U.S.; To Head Achimota

Daniel A. Chapman, Ghana's first Ambassador to the United States, left Washington in September to assume the post of Headmaster of Achimota secondary school in Ghana where he formerly taught for nine years.

Mr. Chapman, who won wide respect during his nearly two years of service in the United States, will be the first Ghanaian to hold the Headmaster post at Achimota School. As such he will have a major responsibility for training Ghana's future leaders, in what Ghanaian spokesmen describe as a fitting tribute to his career as an educator and civil servant.

Achimota has produced many of Ghana's most distinguished citizens, including Prime Minister Nkrumah.

The post of Ambassador to the United States will be filled by Mr. William Marmon Quao Halm, previously assigned to Israel. Mr. Chapman's other post as Permanent Representative to the United Nations was filled in July by Mr. Alex Quaison-Sackey.

British East Africa Company span the years 1889-1892. A fourth volume dealing with Nigeria will be published separately.

The Flame Trees of Thika (by Elspeth Huxley, William Morrow & Co.: New York, 1959, 288 pages, \$4). Mrs. Huxley writes of pre-World War I Nairobi, pioneer life in the Kikuyu country, and the beginnings of co-existence between white and black in British East Africa. Her story is not political, however; it is essentially the record of a happy childhood and warm memories.

Scholarly Conference Draws 265 In Boston

A political scientist finds two poles of approach in Africa today, both of them "dangerous," Prof. Gwendolen Carter of Smith College told members of the African Studies Association at a meeting this month in Boston.

Prof. Carter, retiring president of the association, delivered the keynote address at the group's second annual conference, held in Hillel House at Boston University. An estimated 265 persons attended the three-day meeting, reflecting the sharp rise in American academic interest in Africa since the founding of the association by a group of 35 scholars two years ago.

Miss Carter, just back from a tour of East, Central and southern Africa, pointed to the heady inspiration of "unlimited democracy" as one pole of approach in Africa. This, she said, can "so easily develop into domination by an organized group and a powerful leader." At the other pole, she said, were the restrictions against a gradually evolving African nationalism, particularly in the "multi-racial" states. Such restrictions, she felt, can "court grave danger."

Urging a "middle way," she underlined the need for built-in constitutional safeguards to protect human rights and provide balanced government, and for sufficient constitutional



ABOVE: Members of the African Studies Association examine a new book at the group's September meeting in Boston. Left to right are Dr. David Apter, University of Chicago; Prof. William O. Brown, director of the Boston University African Research and Studies Program and new president of the association; Dr. Adelaide Hill, administrative assistant and research associate at the Boston program; Dr. Elizabeth Colson, also a research associate at the Boston program and program chairman for the conference; and Dr. Paul Bohannon, Northwestern University.

channels to make public opinion count.

In all, some 30 scholars delivered papers at this year's meeting. Topics covered included the academic training of American specialists on Africa, economic and social problems in Africa, the African arts, development problems, technique and methods in the study of the geography of Africa, the study of African history, and the relationship of political science and African studies.

Prof. William O. Brown, well-known sociologist and director of the African Research and Studies Program at Boston University, was elected to succeed Prof. Carter as president of the association. The new vice-president is Prof. William O. Jones, economist, of Stanford University.

According to figures released at the meeting, the African Studies Association now has a regular membership of 224, all experts in various academic fields who have demonstrated a continuing scholarly interest in African studies. Most of them are engaged in teaching or advanced research on Africa at colleges and universities in the United States. Several have written books on Africa.

ASA also has 273 associate members and 100 students members. In addition nearly 100 institutions in the United States and abroad maintain institutional membership in order to obtain the association's quarterly publication, the African Studies Bulletin. The association secretariat is at 409 W 117th Street, New York.



Mrs. Melville Herskovits, wife of the noted anthropologist, and Chief H. O. Davies, Chairman of the Advisory Committee on Aids to African Businessmen of Nigeria, chat with Alan Pifer of the Carnegie Corporation of New York during conference sessions. Chief Davies was among a number of African visitors at the Boston meeting.

BELOW: Chukuemeka Ifeagwu, Acting Senior Assistant Secretary, Nigerian Liaison Office, Washington, D. C., addresses a conference session on political theory.





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